

Message Text

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 PARIS 06372 01 OF 02 131934Z

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20 SAJ-01

EURE-00 DRC-01 (ISO) W

----- 034081

P R 131829Z MAR 74

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7512

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

USMISSION OEC BRUSSELS UNN

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USIA WASHDC

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 PARIS 6372

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR,FR

SUBJECT; U.S.- EUROPEAN RELATIONS AND FRENCH PRESS -(CONT.)

SUMMARY: SECRETARY'S REMARKS TO CONGRESSIONAL WIVES, WHICH CAME TOO LATE

FOR MUCH OF TUESDAY'S FRENCH PRESS, PRODUCED HEADLINES FOR TUESDAY EVENING TELEVISION, AND FOR WEDNESDAY MORNING RADIO AND PARIS NEWSPAPERS, SOME SHARP REJOINDERS GREETED SECRETARY'S OBSERVATIONS ON EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS AND THE CONFIDENCE OF THEIR PEOPLES. MOST THOUGHTFUL IMPRESSION TO DATE ABOUT CURRENT TRANSATLANTIC DIALOGUE CAME FROM EMINENT JOURNALIST AND ACADEMICIAN RAYMOND ARON WHO, IN RADIO CONVERSATION AND FIGARO COLUMN, ARGUED IN FAVOR OF FACT AND REASON, AND USED SOME PRESCIENT VIEWS FROM BOOK BY PROF. KISSINGER TO REFLECT ON CURRENT SITUATION.

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PAGE 02 PARIS 06372 01 OF 02 131934Z

END SUMMARY.

1. BOTH TELEVISION NETWORKS TUESDAY EVENING FEATURED SECRETARY,S
REMARKS TO CONGRESSIONAL WIVES; FOR ONE COMMENTATOR, THEY WERE
"AT THE VERY LEAST, SURPRISING"; FOR ANOTHER, THEY CALLED FOR
FURTHER ELABORATION, BUT "MR. KISSINGER'S ENTOURAGE REFUSED"
TO PROVIDE IT. ON RADIO LUXEMBOURG WEDNESDAY MORNING JEAN
FERNIOT, EXAMINING CHOICES FOR EUROPE WHICH CURRENT DEBATE APPEARS
TO EMPHASIZE, SPOKE OF "ECONOMIC DANGER" POSED BY U.S. AND "MILITARY
DANGER" REPRESENTED BY SOVIET UNION. OPTING FOR U.S., WHICH
"REMAINS OUR ALLY", HE WARNED THAT SOVIET UNION IS ONLY - "PRIVILEGED
PARTNER" OF FRANCE AND STILL "SUSPECT" -- BREZHNEV MIGHT BE IN
PRISON TOMORROW, AND WHO KNOWS WHETHER RED ARMY WILL REMAIN
QUESCENT BEHIND CURRENT FRONTIERS? AS FOR JOBERT'S ATTITUDE, SAID
FERNIOT,
FRENCH SHOULD NOT FORGET THAT POMPIDOU IS "VERY ATTACHED" TO
PRESENCE OF U.S. FORCES IN EUROPE, "WHICH HE CONSIDERS ESSENTIAL".

2. "KISSINGER AND JOBERT NOT DISARMING: MALAISE INCREASES BETWEEN
EUROPE AND U.S. "HEADLINED FIGARO OVER ARTICLE REVIEWING LATEST
PUBLIC REMARKS OF BOTH MEN. "AMERICAN PAVING STONE IN THE POND"
WAS COMBAT'S CONTRIBUTION, WHILE FRENCH SOIR SPOKE OF "THE POLITICS
OF CONTEMPT". IT DECLARED THAT HENRY KISSINGER HAS TAKEN IT
UPON HIMSELF TO REVEAL EUROPE'S DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN PROBLEM --
"EUROPE NEVER RECOVERED FROM FIRST WORLD WAR BECAUSE ITS
GOVERNMENTS DIDN'T MANAGE TO REGAIN THE CONFIDENCE OF PUBLIC OPINION
AND HAVE ONLY RARELY BEEN LEGITIMATE." SECRETARY, SAID FRANE SOIR,
IS EXPERT IN "PETTY SLIGHTS," AND TONE BETWEEN U.S. AND FRANCE HAS
BECOME SO HARSH THAT NOTHING IS SURPRISING ANY MORE. "BUT ONE IS STILL

SURPRISED TO HEAR THAT EUROPE WAS RESPECTABLE ONLY DURING REIGNS
OF NICHOLAS II, EMPEROR FRANZ-JOSEPH AND WILLIAM II. SHOULD BE
LAUGH OR CRY? IN ANY CASE, WE SHOULD BE CONCERNED, BECAUSE THE
POLITICS OF CONTEMPT HAS NEVER BEEN SYNONYMOUS WITH INTELLIGENCE.
SOMEONE SHOULD ASK MR. KISSINGER WHY U.S. WANTS SO BADLY TO
EXERCISE 'LEADERSHIP' OVER AN AREA WHICH COULD INSTEAD BE ABANDONED
TO THE DISMAL EXISTENCE IT HAS KNOWN FOR PAST 50 YEARS".

3. LA NATION, GAULLIST PARTY PAPER, COMPARED SECRETARY TO KHRUSCHEV.
FORMER
SOVIET LEADER, IT SAID, BANGED ON UN TABLE WITH HIS SHOE, BUT
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PAGE 03 PARIS 06372 01 OF 02 131934Z

"IN LAST ANALYSIS, IT DIDN'T GET HIM ANYWHERE.
EXIT MR. K. BUT NOW HERE IS MR. K-TWO, REAL NAME HENRY
KISSINGER. HE ALSO TAKES HIMSELF FOR MASTER OF THE WORLD AND
MR. JOBERT ALONE TELLS HIM HE IS WRONG. SO MR. K-TWO BECOMES
ANGRY. 'THE DIFFICULTIES BETWEEN THE U.S. AND EUROPE ARE SERIOUS',
HE SAYS. WHY? BECAUSE, ACCORDING TO MR. K-TWO, SINCE THE FIRST
WORLD WAR EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS HAVE RARELY BEEN LEGITIMATE AND
ALMOST NEVER HAVE HAD PUBLIC CONFIDENCE* BUT PEOPLE WHO LIVE IN GLASS

HOUSES SHOULDN'T THROW STONES. ISN'T MR. K-TWO, LIKE MR. K,
SIMPLY LOSING HIS HEAD?"

4. EDITOR ANDRE FONTAINE, IN LE MONDE'S THURSDAY EDITION DE-
CLARED THAT "MR. KISSINGER, A GREAT EXPERT IN STRATEGIC
DEESCALATION, IS ABOUT TO TURN HIMSELF INTO A CHAMPION OF VERBAL
ESCALATION. WHY... HAS HE SUDDENLY FLOWN INTO A TEMPER?" FONTAINE
SUGGESTED REASON MIGHT BE THAT U.S. FACES "TWO DECISIVE NEGOTIATIONS",

ONE WITH ARAB WORLD WHICH CONCERNS FATE OF ISRAEL,
PRICE OF OIL AND FUTURE OF U.S. ECONOMY; THE OTHER WITH SOVIET UNION
IN SALT AND MBFR. "IN THE EYES OF A KISSINGER,"
WROTE FONTAINE, "IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT HE MEET BREZHNEV AND THE
ARABS WITH ALL HIS ALLIES LINED UP PLACIDLY BEHIND HIM."

5. IN RADIO INTERVIEW TUESDAY NIGHT, EMINENT FIGARO COMMENTATOR
AND POLITICAL PHILOSOPHER RAYMOND ARON ARGUED IN FAVOR OF REASON
AND FACT IN TRANSATLANTIC DIALOGUE, MAKING FOLLOWING POINTS:
A. QUESTION FOR FRENCH IS "WHETHER WE INCREASE OUR MARGIN
OF AUTONOMY IN NEGOTIATION AND DISCUSSION WITH THE U.S.,
OR WHETHER, A PRIORI, WE SUSPECT THEM OF DESPOTIC INTENT AND GIVE
THEM AND A PRIORI REJECTION."
.../... STONE

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PAGE 01 PARIS 06372 02 OF 02 132006Z

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EURE-00 DRC-01 /087 W
----- 086292

P R 131839Z MAR 74
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7513
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
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AMEMBASSY ROME
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UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 2 PARIS 6372

B. AMERICANS AND FRENCH ARE SPENDING FAR GREATER TIME ARGUING OVER WAYS TO APPROACH COMMON PROBLEMS THAN ON PROBLEMS THEMSELVES.

C. THERE IS NOTHING "SCANDALOUS" IN FACT THAT U.S. MUST TEND TO ITS RELATIONS WITH EUROPE AND WITH OTHER PARTS OF WORLD SIMULTANEOUSLY. WHAT HAS "EXASPERATED" SECRETARY IS THAT EUROPEANS, WHO SEEM BARELY ABLE TO AGREE ON ANYTHING AMONG SELVES, ONLY MANAGE TO GET TOGETHER EXTERNALLY IN ORDER TO OPPOSE U.S.

D. NOTION OF SUPERPOWER CONTROL OF WORLD IS FALSE. HE IS ASTONISHED BY FRENCH "OBSESSION WITH U.S. DOMINATION" AND AGREES WITH RESTON THAT U.S. SEEMS AN UNCERTAIN, DIVIDED COUNTRY WITH A "CONTESTED" PRESIDENT AND A FOREIGN POLICY MADE BY ITS SECRETARY OF STATE. EUROPE, "LARGEST COMMERCIAL POWER IN WORLD", HAS NO REASON TO UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 PARIS 06372 02 OF 02 132006Z

FEAR AMERICAN POWER.

E. PERSONALITIES OF JOBERT AND MR. KISSINGER PLAY A CONSIDERABLE ROLE IN CURRENT EXCHANGES OF VIEWPOINTS ACROSS ATLANTIC, WHICH ARE BECOMING A SORT OF "MATCH"; NEITHER NEED ENVY THE OTHER WHERE "VIGORE OF EXPRESSION" IS CONCERNED. ALL OF THIS IS "LAMENTABLE". SECRETARY HAS A "BAD MANNER" AND IS CAPABLE OF "BRUTALITY"; HE SHOULD NEVER HAVE SAID SOME THINGS HE HAS SAID. ARON HAS WRITTEN HIM "SEVERAL TIMES" ABOUT IT. BUT ALL DEPENDS ON STATE OF MIND WITH WHICH ONE MEETS HIM. IF EUROPEANS DO SO IN SPIRIT OF ALLIES, WITH COMMON PROBLEMS SEEDING DISCUSSION AND USE OF COMMON RESOURCES TO RESOLVE. "YOU FIND BEFORE YOU A DIFFERENT MAN".

6. NEXT MORNING, ON FIGARO'S FRONT PAGE, ARON QUOTED PASSAGES FROM KISSINGER BOOK (THE TROUBLED PARTNERSHIP) IN REFLECTIONS ON CURRENT SITUATION. "I KNOW NOTHING IS EASIER", HE WROTE, "THAN TO COMPARE THE WORDS OF A PROFESSOR WITH THE ACTS OF A SECRETARY OF STATE". NONETHELSS, HE FOUND IT USEFUL TO DO SO, BEGINNING WITH QUOTE THAT "WHEN FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES EXIST BETWEEN ALLIES, THE PARTNERS ARE TORN BETWEEN THE DESIRE TO KEEP UP THE APPEARANCE OF UNITY AND THE TEMPTATION TO JUSTIFY THEIR FEELINGS". TORN BETWEEN THESE CHOICES, ARON WROTE, MR. KISSINGER HAS CHOSEN THE SECOND -- "AND HE IS WRONG. NO ONE GAINS ANYTHING BY EXCITING WAVES OF PASSION OVER A QUARREL WHOSE STAKES REMAIN

OBSURE TO ORDINARY MORTALS. WHY SHOULD CONSULTATION BETWEEN THE BIG OIL CONSUMER COUNTRIES BE CONTRARY TO THE DIGNITY OF FRANCE? WHY SHOULDN'T FRANCE HAVE THE RIGHT TO ITS OWN CONCEPT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN EUROPE AND THE ARABS?"

7. QUOTING SECRETARY'S BOOK AGAIN: "DURING THE NEXT DECADES, THE U.S. WILL PROBABLY BE MORE AND MORE INVOLVED IN THE FAR EAST, SOUTHEAST ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA. OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY FEEL THAT THEIR VITAL INTERESTS ARE NOT AT STAKE IN THESE REGIONS", THOUGH MIDDLE EAST IS MISSING FROM THAT QUOTE, SAID ARON, FOLLOWING RELATED PASSAGE IS SURELY APPLICABLE TO IT: "IF WE FRANKLY ADMIT THAT THE INTERESTS OF EUROPE AND THE U.S. ARE NOT EVERYWHERE IDENTICAL, IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO AGREE ON THE TOLERABLE LIMITS OF DISAGREEMENT". ARON ALSO CONCLUDED THIS QUOTE: "THE ATTEMPT TO FORCE OUR ALLIES TO CHOOSE BETWEEN US AND FRANCE... WILL NECESSARILY HEIGHTEN THE EUROPEAN NATIONALISM THAT UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 03 PARIS 06372 02 OF 02 132006Z

FRENCH POLICY HAS ALREADY HELPED SO MUCH TO NOURISH".

8. WRITTEN IN 1964, ARON NOTED, SECRETARY'S BOOK "PREACHED MODERATION AND MADE AN EFFORT TO UNDERSTAND AND BE UNDERSTOOD. HAS THE SITUATION CHANGED SO MUCH THAT THESE QUOTES HAVE NO OTHER SIGNIFICANCE THAN TO ILLUSTRATE ONCE AGAIN THE CHANGES UN-

I THINK HENRY KISSINGER REMAINS FAITHFUL TO SOME OF THE IDEAS HE FORMED THEN. HE NEVER BELIEVED MUCH IN FEDERAL EUROPEAN UNITY AND ALWAYS CRITICIZED HIS PREDECESSORS AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT FOR THROWING ALL THE WEIGHT OF THE U.S. BEHIND THIS CAUSE. NOT ONLY DID HE NOT BELIEVE IN FEDERAL UNITY, BUT HE FELT IT WAS NOT NECESSARILY IN U.S. INTERESTS. WHY WOULDN'T A UNIFIED EUROPE FEEL THE WISH TO DECLARE ITS OWN IDENTITY AND AUTONOMY?

9. "KISSINGER IN 1965 ALREADY BELIEVED IN THAT WISH TO BE LEGITIMATE, JUST AS HE ALSO THOUGHT THAT A DIFFERENCE OF PERSPECTIVE WAS LIKELY BETWEEN THE U.S. AND EUROPE, ESPECIALLY WHERE PROBLEMS OUTSIDE EUROPE WERE CONCERNED. HE THOUGHT IT THE TASK OF A WISE POLICY TO SOFTEN THE IMPACT OF THIS DIFFERENCE THAT NOTHING COULD ELIMINATE.

10. "CERTAINLY, IN LIGHT OF CURRENT EVENTS, QUAI D'ORSAY SPECIALISTS MIGHT READ THE BOOK COMPLETELY DIFFERENTLY. ONE COULD SEE BETWEEN THE LINES THE SUGGESTION THAT A UNIFIED EUROPE INEVITABLY WOULD COME UP AGAINST THE U.S. BUT THEN, WHY JOHN KENNEDY'S GREAT PLAN? WHY DENOUNCE THE GAULLIST CONCEPTION OR THE FOUCHET PLAN, WHICH IN THE END ARE THE BEST ADAPTED TO THE TRUE INTERESTS OF THE U.S. AND THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE ITSELF? THE FORM EUROPEANS ARE GIVING AND WILL GIVE TO THEIR UNITY IS THEIR OWN BUSINESS. BUT AS HENRY KISSINGER SAID, ' IF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE IS TO PRESERVE

ANY VITALITY, A COMMON EXTERNAL POLICY IS REQUIRED -- OR AT LEAST
AN AGREEMENT ON THE TOLERABLE LIMITS OF
DISAGREEMENT'.
HAS THE MARGIN OF DISAGREEMENT CEASED TO BE TOLERABLE?"
STONE

DERGONE BY A PROFESSOR WHEN HE BECOMES A STATESMAN? DESPITE EVERYTHING,

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PRESS COMMENTS, FOREIGN RELATIONS, DETENTE, SPEECHES, ECONOMIC PROGRAMS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, PRESS RELEASES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 13 MAR 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: n/a
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 JAN 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974PARIS06372
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740071-0326
From: PARIS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740347/aaaabrpp.tel
Line Count: 283
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 11 JUL 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <11 JUL 2002 by elbezefj>; APPROVED <17 JUL 2002 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: U.S.- EUROPEAN RELATIONS AND FRENCH PRESS -(CONT.) SUMMARY: SECRETARY'S REMARKS TO CONGRESSIONAL WIVES, WHICH CAME TOO
TAGS: PFOR, FR, XG, (KISSINGER, HENRY A), (JOBERT)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005